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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [595] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[4] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[4] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [602] [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man • [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[3] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 859 261 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [3] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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861 123 children in the hamlet, saw me doing this, stole some shells, and tried to do it himself. His older brother, Mes, saw him and told him that shells were dangerous and that he had better not fool with them. Kwos paid no heed. He tried to light the shell, but it did not go off and he looked to see what the trouble was. At that moment the powder exploded, seriously burning one side of his face and closing one eye. Mes scolded him severely: "I told you not to play with those shells. Why didn't you heed me?" His father also scolded him: "You will probably go blind, but it is your own fault. Why didn't you heed your brother? He told you not to play with the shells." No one in the hamlet expressed sympathy for Kwos's injury; everyone blamed him.

861 The number of punishments that a Kwoma receives from other persons increases markedly in childhood. He is frequently beaten and scolded by his parents and other persons of their generation. They order him to do household chores and scold him for being lax about them. They shout at son or daughter, nephew or niece, to stop yelling and rushing around the house when they are resting or trying to carry on a conversation. They scold the child for snooping into cult secrets, for not helping a *brother* who needs aid, or for damaging the household property. One afternoon Ham was wandering about under the porch of Wof, his *paternal uncle*. The latter, irritable because of an argument that he was having with his wife, roared at Ham to sit down. Ham dropped as though he were shot, and Wof began scolding him severely. He accused Ham of being a little thief and of trying to steal something. Ham began to cry and as soon as he dared got up and ran home. The incidents of Wof beating his daughter for not getting the firewood, and that of Kwiya scolding Mey for not passing the proper mixing sticks, have already been reported.

861 •602 A child is kicked and beaten, scolded and teased, by his older siblings even more than by his parents. Older siblings imitate their parents, commanding, scolding, and punishing their younger *brothers* and *sisters*. Older *sisters* punish a boy if they see him with an erection, a girl if she sits immodestly.

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

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865 aside nor dangerous to command them to get out of the way.
• 602 If they jostle him when he is about to throw a dart into a pawpaw, he can kick or beat them without fear of effective retaliation, and he is rewarded for doing so when they thereafter keep out of his way. If younger *brothers* or *sisters* take some food which he intends to eat, he can force them to give it back if he catches them at it or prevent a future recurrence by punishing them after the event. When younger siblings tag along despite his wish to be with boys of his own age, he can command them to stay behind and back up the command with a blow if he is not heeded.

Such is the success of aggression toward younger siblings that a child often expresses it even when they do not threaten or annoy him. Kwoma boys and girls continually tease their younger *brothers* and *sisters* and order them about apparently for the pure joy of it. Presumably by so doing a child both reassures himself that he is in a position to be successfully aggressive toward these younger children and at the same time finds expression for the aggression generated by older persons which he usually dare not manifest.[12] Thus he gains practice in expressing aggression toward persons who are not responsible for producing it—a type of response which he frequently employs in later life.

Toward the end of childhood, when social aggression has been greatly strengthened by success with smaller persons, a child may sometimes express it toward those older than he. If he does so, he usually escapes immediately afterward. It is, so to speak, "hit and run" aggression. Fit's feud with his older *brother*,[13] Mey, exemplifies this. One morning Mey was teasing Fit as they were eating breakfast. Fit lost his temper and cursed Mey by telling him to cohabit with his sister. Mey

[12] As soon as a child learns to be aggressive in response to a threat, this behavior tends to assume ascendancy over avoidance, because in the former case the goal of the activity in progress need not be given up, whereas in the latter it often has to be. Thus a child should develop a wish to be aggressive toward his parents rather than to obey them, but, since he dare not do so, he takes it out on his *brothers* and *sisters*.

[13] Mey was only slightly older and bigger than Fit. I should guess twelve and ten as their respective ages.

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returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother.

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
• 602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away. [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but • [602] may not actually injure him. A child is continually being lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social [602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [83] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[1] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[2]

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252 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities.
• 602 While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[1] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[2] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[a]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[b] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[c] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[a] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[b] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[c] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [492] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the [226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore, he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[948] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[964] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[86] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sa-*
[196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed
[754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re-
[158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in
• [602] his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual coöperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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882 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening
• 602 relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged
578 to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy
608 into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet
381 who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates
628 him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic dis-
000 tribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[614]
[621]

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard; and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man." 882 609 836

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud. 602 578 [583] [626] [627]

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness. 882 584 602 578

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives. 882 836 584 602 578

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed. 882 721 648 609

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects. 882 562 [224] [881] [781]

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so. [754]

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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244 241 262 826 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He [602] does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 244 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the [462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of [482] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.[a] The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

[a] Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [496] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is [692] normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all 423 lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties 621 apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a 692 member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be 578 settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they [602] are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way [613] property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus deter- 423 mined by a man's membership in the various groups de- 611 scribed above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and 428 hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some cooperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[262] 192 [192] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[34] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

• 602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[34] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties. 602 • 764 [765]

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost. 775 765

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result. 764

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held, 765

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[27] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[28]

885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[27] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[28] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an adz in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[43] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.[44]

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[44] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[43] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[44] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 [601] A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 608 [881] A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him. It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father and a *ceremonial son*. The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the *ceremonial father* and the *ceremonial son* also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a *friend*, and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the *friend-friend* and the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[*] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[*] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[23]

Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[23] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone [123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had [602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly
"savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its
[754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein
as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up,
[123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping hold
of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation
in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the
[154] "kiop" and have him put in the calabousse. They said the dead man had been
poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned
me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at
it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying
[417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably
[602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[192] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Korjasi, Hongwom, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwom is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house temberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house temberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house temberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Marham (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwom understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Qwiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with 602 his net bag, (hilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not 593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the 595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mae who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

231 Bwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told us
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and
Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong
to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a mat bag and hung in a tree. If
Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and
caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing
it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Way and Awambaka went to Uramaj to make payment on Way's
wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his nam (mother's brother). It is also
War's nam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants
reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect
right to the sago since his nam told him he could cut it. He has decided that
what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of
obligation to pay nam at head survive. He is afraid that if he does not pay
War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He
thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark
from me which he considers to be enough.

857 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwems were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hent survige, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them nam but use their name. His daughter, Hamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hent survige. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

761 A man of Dusus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunge (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tambarans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at War's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. War and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamaoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahek who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamaoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

*115 584 [759] This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking in a loud voice. He said that Mas has agreed to act as a go-between to ask Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mas (Mar has been joking with Mas alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 787 602 753 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables. His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinowa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Mey and Pit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 787 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
602 753 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get
it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.
April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Ear, Afok, Fokotey, Dewangi and Tat went to blow flutes, Mar and
Mae decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and
had to work--get firewood and wash sago.
April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
"No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know
I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman,
that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able
to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind."
He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mae asked
me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.
April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Ouanta
and Pambe to get Mae' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want
me to tell Mae and thinks I should protest him again Mar if he makes a
fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Tat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aye until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mbe marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aye is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aye; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mbe and Gwiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Oviyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

#115 Oviyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwem carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Oviyap finally found that another Hongwem had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "hiop" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Rwiya came by carrying firewood and Oviyap yelled something bawdy
#115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Oviyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
#115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Rwiya, Awe, Way's older daughter, Mee' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bone nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mee' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mer about having intercourse with his sister (Awe), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awe in their house. Mey came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want Mey to know, for he might tell Mer.

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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Division of parts to relatives

kwatuwe	mother's brother
takwheffi	father's sister
takimpi & suku tokwiyi	sister
wasfyi, wupe	father's brothers
yeti nafwhdiyi	brothers
wenafiyi	wife and children
hakwenif	wife and children
weyi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children